

687  
Ju 82  
Box 1.

May 30, 1889  
SPEECH OF MR. OGLE R. GOWAN,

DELIVERED

IN THE GEORGE STREET ORANGE HALL,  
TORONTO,

On the Evening of the 19th ult., and addressed to the Young Britons  
Lodge, No. 12, Cadets of Orangeism.

With the death of my first-born, and most dearly beloved Son, commenced a new era in my life! From the day I first entered the public arena, no six months expired without my addressing some public assembly or taking some active part in the religious, the political, the educational, the municipal, the parliamentary, or other public affairs of the country. I was so far prostrated by the sudden bereavement which I suffered upon that melancholy occasion, so completely stricken down by the awful blow inflicted, that from that moment to this day, I have not ventured to address a public assembly. In now emerging from the seclusion of the last half year, I do so in obedience to what I feel to be a call of duty, and because I know that in addressing the "Young Britons," I am but lecturing the rising hope of my adopted country, and laboring to instill into the minds of "Young Canada" those great principles of British Constitutional Freedom, which I have studiously inculcated through life, and which I earnestly beseech you, my juvenile brethren, to make the pride and study of your lives, and to hand down to your children unimpaired by the new and seductive theories which are every day springing up around you, and which, if not met and crushed in the bud, may possibly, if not probably, lead you from the paths of political rectitude and honor. Harken, then, I beseech you, to the voice of one who can now have no private interest to promote; no pecuniary end to gain; who is bound to you as a brother; who loves you as a father, and whose advice is seasoned and fortified by far more years of experience than any one of you have yet seen.

CAUSES OF THE FIRST ANNEXATION CRISIS.

In 1837 and '8, when a few unpopular acts of the then government, together with the absence of British troops from the Province, gave the secret enemies of British connection—those who ardently panted for, but who dared not openly avow, their desire for "annexation"—a pretext for carrying out their seditious designs; they quickly rose in insurrection, solicited, and received, foreign aid, from the hordes of American sympathisers called "patriots," who crossed over and invaded our country at several points; on the borders of the Eastern Townships, in Lower Canada; at the Windmill, near Prescott; at

Navy Island, near Niagara; and on the Western Frontier of Upper Canada. The true spirit of loyalty was then put upon its metal—the British connexionists and the Yankee sympathisers were fairly confronted—the loyalists and the traitors, were brought face to face, and in that hour of trial, when many faint hearts were appalled, we have reason to feel proud of the noble stand taken by the members of the Loyal Orange Institution. Not one man was found to flinch—every "True Blue" flocked to the post of duty—no second count of warning was needed—every Orange heart was found to be a stone in the rampart erected around,

"The flag that braved a thousand years,  
The battle and the breeze."

kindred spirits flew to arms, and in a short period, the whole posse of domestic "Annexationists" and foreign "patriots" from St. Denis to St. Kustache, in Canada East, and from the Windmill to Windsor, in Canada West, were glad to flee before the indignant loyalty of an insulted people, and to seek safety in the neighboring republic.

Nor should we be slow to acknowledge the loyalty displayed by other classes widely differing from us upon the occasion referred to. Many of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects nobly stepped forward in 1837 and '8, to avow their loyalty, and stem the advancing tide of treason. The following resolution, passed unanimously by the Grand Orange Lodge of British America, at its annual meeting held at Brockville, on Tuesday, the 5th of June, 1832, will best bespeak the estimation in which their conduct was held by our Loyal Body; and also, how ready all true Orangemen are, to do justice to all men, according to their deserts, whether the parties be friends or foes. "No. 13: Resolved—That we hail with feelings of delight, the recent manifestations of loyalty and patriotism displayed by our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in this Province; in which noble struggle, they were ably and successfully supported by their venerable "Bishop" (Dr Macdonnell), and that such conduct merits and receives our cordial approbation and thanks."

Here, then, the arm of traitors was paralyzed, and the voice of treason hushed; all the administration of the late Lord Elgin; when the popular excitement, raised by the passage of the "re-

bellion losses" bill, roused the loyalists to organize the "British American League"; and the "annexation" party, still true to the secret yearnings of their hearts, sought to turn the agitation of the hour to promote traitorous designs. The British Loyalists were not however, to be duped by the designs of these dangerous men; and while clamouring against what they conceived to be error and injustice, were not slow to maintain their loyalty untarnished.

#### ANNEXATIONISTS RENEW THEIR AGITATION.

The termination of the great rebellion in the once "United," but now estranged and disjoined "States" of the American republic, and the immense numbers of soldiers and army followers, thrown out of service in consequence of such termination appears to afford a fresh opportunity to the disaffected, to "show their hand" and by seductive blandishments on the one side, and the dread of being overwhelmed by numbers on the other, to appeal to the cupidity of some, and to the fears of others, to aid them in their long cherished designs against the repose and progress of our country. Be it our duty then, my dear young friends, to administer an antidote to their poison; to purify the blood throughout the whole system; or if need be, to excoriate and cut off from the constitution of society at large, those blotches and pests, that suck us like leeches, and having satiated their present thirst for gain, would now deprive us of nutriment, that we might be compelled to seek future prosperity and vigor if not actual life and existence at the hands of those very people to whom they would "annex" us! Or in other words, having appealed to the arbitrament of the sword and failed; having appealed to lacerated feelings, goaded by an actual or supposed wrong, and again failed—they now appeal to a hostile tariff, trusting that an inflated trade may effect what an unsheathed sword, and an excited temper failed to accomplish. Let us then for a few moments examine the ground on which we stand, and cast a glance, however so slight, upon the field before us. Few animals would desert a sweet pasturage upon which for years they had reposed and fed in safety, to roam over strange fields, clothed with a more acid herbage; and no animal but a brainless one would do so, did he foresee the dangers of a pound, as a consequence of his temerity in crossing the fence of the enclosure.

#### INHERENT LOYALTY.

It is principle that binds British American subjects to the British Isles—this is always superior to other considerations. For a time fear, self-interest or other unworthy motives may stifle the voice of principle and inherent attachment, just as some worldly motive, the fear of offending an unreasonable or dissatisfied guardian; or some other outside consideration may stifle the voice of affection, and prevent for a time the consummation of a matrimonial alliance; but in the end affection prevails; "love laughs at locksmiths,"

and the first favorable opportunity is embraced to knit kindred hearts together. As with individuals, so is it with peoples and nations. If there is no heartfelt attachment, where can be no permanent union, and opportunities will not be wanting, to discover bonds which necessity, not choice, had knit together. This is exactly the case with British America. Her people are attached to British institutions, to British laws and customs, to the British Sovereign, and to the British nation; they feel as the members of one great family—they take an honest pride in rehearsing the glories of their fathers—and that great palladium of constitutional freedom which they have inherited from honored sires, they desire to enjoy themselves and to hand down to posterity unimpaired. Fiscal exclusiveness may damp their energies and close extensive markets of commerce against the productions of their labor and of their soil—the lawless hordes of a "looting" soldiery may invade their borders, lay waste their fairest fields, and ravish their wealthiest cities: but although all these dire calamities may, as in the case of lovers, stifle for a time, the voice of loyalty; in the end, principle will prevail; some favorite opportunity will present itself; the royal ensign of Britain will again float in the breeze, and the voice of aged parents from the "Sea-girt Isles" will, in that auspicious moment, swell the chorus of their colonial offspring, in chanting, "God save the Queen!"

#### BITTER FRUITS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

Nor will the recent developments of Democratic government, conducted in the name and under the guise of Republican forms, tend to lure Britons from their allegiance to the empire. Whatever may have been the theory, has not the very existence of a Republican administration been ignored for the last four or five years? What is the basis upon which Republican government rests? Clearly upon the will of the governed. Is conscription upon conscription the will of the governed? Is the repeal of the right of *habeas corpus* Republican government? Is the absolute submission of millions upon millions of men, to the rule of a power they abhor, Republican government? Is the appointment of Military Governors, Judges and Provost Marshals, to rule over "States" called "Free and Independent," Republican government? Are Ministers, Priests and Bishops exiled and banished, because they would not preach and pray in obedience to military command, Republican government? Are prisons filled with incarcerated men, and even women, for supposed political offences, without bail, without trial, and in numerous instances, even without a known charge, Republican government? If these, and such like, are the fruits which flourish so abundantly in the gardens of our Republican neighbors, all I can say is, that few Canadians will be inclined to "long" for the taste of them! They will prefer to "rest under their own vine and their own fig tree, none daring to make them afraid."

## AMERICAN PROSPERITY.

In the North American "States" there is, if not less of real, at least more of artificial prosperity, than in any other country in the world. A traveller passing through them, is at once struck with the seeming greatness, the glowing prosperity, and the bustle and turmoil of business, which at every turn present themselves. Dollars are spoken of by the thousands, and counted with as much unconcern as pins are with us! The loftiest buildings; the most splendid equipages; the most costly dresses; the most expensive parties; are the gods, everywhere worshipped by Americans. No voluptuousness, and no extravagance, deter them—they seem to delight and wallow in the most luxurious revelry. It is the same in their business transactions as in their social habits—all is show and glitter. A man, perhaps without sixpence that he can call his own, "calculates" he will build a mill, or a factory, or a store. Forthwith his "head-work" is called into requisition. He "guesses" that everything must be on a gigantic scale—four stories high; iron colonnades; arched windows; plate glass; fluted columns; and all the other ceteras of a palace, follow with lightning speed! The traveller is struck, not only with the enterprise of the man, but with the prosperity of the place also. Scarcely has his vision of greatness ceased, when lo! the palace gates are closed, and the "sovereign" occupant has "absquatulated!" So much for "sovereign" No. 1. In due course, the gates are again opened, and the palace is again filled with a fresh stock. Trade is brisk; half a dozen clerks, their breasts glowing with jewellery, their fingers glittering with rings, and their whole exterior gaily ornamented from head to foot, are behind the counters—sales are made by thousands per diem, and the close of the year witnesses the close of the palace; a "smash" has come, and the "sovereign" occupant No. 2, follows in the wake of No. 1. I need not repeat the histories of Nos. 3, or 4, or 5, or 6, which follow. They would be but brief epitomes of American prosperity, and only every-day histories of the repetitions of the glitter and greatness, by which travellers are deceived. This is the kind of prosperity, alas too prevalent with our neighbors; it is this surface grandeur and greatness, by which too many are deceived; and it is this everyday glitter, which our "annexationist" friends would desire to see overshadowing our country!

## COMPARATIVE PROGRESS—POPULATION.

If the statistics of British America, and of the United States of America, are compared, not only as regards population and territory, but also in point of material prosperity—in agriculture, in horticulture, in manufactures, in mineral discoveries, in the fine arts, in railroads, in canals, in the products of the forest and of the ocean, and in many other particulars, which indicate the industrial progress and wealth of a people,—it will be found that within the last quarter of a cen-

tury, British America has outstripped her rival "States" in a very large and most gratifying degree. At the commencement of the war of 1812-'14, the American population was over eight millions, while the population of Upper and Lower Canada was scarcely three hundred thousand, or as twenty-seven to one. At the present date, the statistical tables show the population of British America and the United States to be in the proportion of two to one. Surely this great increase ought not only to be gratifying to the heart of every "true man" in these dependencies of the Empire; ought not only to nerve his spirit with fresh energy and vigor, but ought, moreover, to silence the bombastic tongues of those gasconading "Annexationists" who are constantly boasting of the tide of emigration filling up their prairie lands in the west, and augmenting their population in such maguiloquent numbers. Give us but an equal number of years, or even less, with an equal ratio of increase on both sides, and we shall be far "ahead" of our "go-a-head" neighbors! Here, then, is one fact—and one, too, more material than any other that can be produced—and which no man, not even the most rabid "Annexationist," can gainsay or deny. But in addition to this, let it be taken into account that I have not included the population of British Columbia, Vancouver Island and the Hudson Bay territory—no inconsiderable addition—while I have given our American "cousins" the benefit of California, Oregon and their other recently acquired territories.

## TERRITORY.

Nor is it in point of population only that we have increased upon them: we have gained also in point of territory. 'Tis true they have gained largely by waging aggressive wars and overrunning the outlying provinces of their effete Southern neighbors, and thus, by the power of the sword, wresting from Mexico some of her fairest provinces. But what are they in point of extent, when compared with Columbia, Vancouver and the Hudson's Bay territories? They are not one-third as large. So much then for the proportionate increase in population and in territorial extent.

## AGRICULTURE.

Allow me now to direct your attention to agriculture, to horticulture, and to manufactures. So far as agriculture is concerned, it may be said with truth, that five-and-twenty, or thirty years ago, it was confined chiefly to the operations of the axe upon the primeval forest, and to the drag, or the hoe, between the roots and stumps that encumbered the "cleared ground." While the rich valleys of the Genesee and the Mohawk were to the highest state of cultivation, producing their forty, and often fifty, bushels of the best fall wheat to the acre, the valleys of the Ottawa, the Rideau, the Trent, the Molra, the Humber, the Speed, the Thames, and other Canadian streams, were but covered with the wild productions of an uncultivated soil; or if in

some place, touched by the hand of industry, it was but to produce a few "patches," or possibly a few acres of potatoes or Indian corn. But what is the change now? While American agriculture has made but little improvement upon what it then was, the Canadian agriculturist has shot ahead, not only to catch up with his American competitor—to rival his best cultivated acres—but actually to equal, if not surpass him, in many articles the productions of the soil. Let any impartial judge visit the annual agricultural fairs of our nearest neighbor, the great "Empire State" of New York, and compare the native productions there on exhibition, with those exhibited at our own provincial fairs, and then pronounce, if he can do so, in what particular article of wheat, or barley, or oats, or other grain, we are behind in the race of competition; or in what particular roots; potatoes, turnips, carrots, beet, cabbage, gourds, tomatoes, or other cereals or vegetables, we lag behind? Nor would it be fair perhaps, to confine our comparison to the "Empire State" alone. If it should be extended, so as to include the whole of the "New England" States, it would be found that while they had scarcely advanced, if indeed they have not retrograded, we have gone on advancing in a more rapid ratio than any other country, the history of which has, as yet, come down to us.

#### HORTICULTURE.

Of the comparative growth of horticulture, I need scarcely speak, and for the simple reason, that some five and twenty years ago, when horticulture in the "United" States was much advanced, in British America it was almost unknown; at all events unknown, and certainly unpracticed, by the great bulk of the people. But how stand matters now? Pass through our country—look into our farmer's flower gardens—and the answer is before you! Stop in our cities and towns; visit our markets, and feast your eyes and your scent upon the beauty and fragrance of the bouquets, which at every turn arrest your attention, and you will be at no loss for a reply. Take a short drive by the residences of our market gardeners, and the odoriferous perfume will readily supply an answer. Or if too indolent to visit amid the scenes of rural life, only step into the "green houses" or "conservatories" of numbers of our citizens, the Morrisons, the Gzowskies, the Macphersons, the Harrisons, the Killalys, the Boutons, the Eccles, the Cayleys, the Wilsons, the Jarvis, and almost hundreds of others, and will not the horticultural and floral advancement of our country at once speak for its progress?

#### MANUFACTURES.

The growth of the manufacturing industry of the country is almost, if not altogether, without a parallel. But a quarter of a century ago how to manufacture a scythe or a sickle, or even a spade or a shovel, was scarcely known. Almost every article and implement was imported from England, or

was manufactured by, and received from, our neighbors south of the line 45. But now how stand these matters? We enter into a free competition, not only with our American neighbors, with all their advantages of age, experience and capital, but even with England. Look at our stove, or our plow; our spade, or our shovel; our fork, or our rake; our scythe, or our sickle; our axe, or our adze; our nail, or our screw; factory or foundry in every city; and in numerous instances, in our towns, and even little villages. Look, too, at our mammoth distilleries and breweries; at our iron rolling-mills; at our cotton and tobacco factories; at our sugar and our oil refineries. Hear the whiz of the trip-hammer. Smell the odor of the tan-bark. View the shavings from the lathe of the turner; and the "thousand and one" nuts and screws, chisels and augurs, bits and braces, saws and planes, and other implements used by our skillful artisans in the manufacture of snaths, harness, saddles, trees, chairs, churns, bowls, pails, and the endless variety of wooden wares. Nor is it in the manufacture of iron, or wood; or grain, or leather; or cotton, or tobacco; or sugar, or oil; alone, that we have advanced. We should also take into account our manufacture, (aye and even growth too,) of flax. (And here, by way of parenthesis, I must be permitted to say, that our whole country can never feel too grateful for the enterprise and perseverance manifested by our Upper Canada emigrant agent, Mr. Donaldson, in the introduction, growth, and manufacture of this article.) In very truth, our country has been marching onward and upward, in the manufacture of almost every article, made from wood, or from iron; from flax, or from cotton; from the rough grains grown on the surface of the earth; and from the crude oils pumped from its lowest depths. Should we continue but for a few years more, with the same rapid strides, we shall behold not only our cities and large towns stocked with factories, but every little creek and rivulet in the country covered with hives, swarming with population, industry and manufactures.

#### MINERALS.

Now a few words in reference to our mineral wealth. What shall I say upon this subject? 'Tis true, great mineral wealth has been added to our neighbors. They have gained the gold fields of California, and the auriferous "diggings" of Oregon and Nevada. They have also the coal mines of Pennsylvania and Ohio; and the iron beds south of Superior; with some others of less note and richness. But what are they, when compared with the value and extent of the mineral wealth of British America? Only compare their "gold fields" of California with those of British Columbia. Place their auriferous "diggings" in Oregon and Nevada beside our auriferous lands in the North west and North-east; on the Saskatchewan and in Nova Scotia. Just for a moment contemplate the extent, the richness, and the readiness of



approach to our coal deposits in Nova Scotia, on the Atlantic; and in Vancouver, on the Pacific, with their coal beds in Ohio and Pennsylvania. And, again, if we but balance their iron and copper ores on the south side of Lake Superior with our own on the north side of the same inland sea, what becomes of their boasted mineral wealth in that great mineral region of their country? Nor do I say anything of our iron, or copper, or gold, or lead, or silver deposits at Marmora, at St. Maurice, the Bruce Mines on Lake Huron, those on the Chaudiere, at Gaspé, in the Eastern Townships, and several other parts. Of a truth, it may be said that great, and extensive, and valuable as have been our mineral discoveries, they are as yet but in their infancy, and that from the indications already developed, it may be fairly inferred that British America, as well in extent as in richness and variety, does not only at present equal, but in a very few years will excel, not only the United States of America but also the whole remaining portion of the American continent. Indeed so extensive and valuable are the deposits of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, coal, gypsum, potter's-clay, oil, plaster, glass-sand, and other "rich bowels" of the earth to be found in almost every part of the northern portion of this continent, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans, that the treasure may be pronounced as at once inexhaustible and invaluable.

#### FORESTS.

From the mineral wealth of the country one is at once led to the extent and value of its forests. On this subject nothing need be said, for however sanguine may be the temperament of some of our annexation friends, none of them are so rabid, not one, I imagine, will have the temerity to deny to British America the palm of superiority, so far at least as regards the productions of the forest. In a very few years not only the largest portion of the New England States, as well as the great "empire" State of New York, but also the whole vast prairie domain of the "Great West," will be wholly dependent upon British America for their timber supply. Only contemplate for a moment what a drain is here awaiting them! And again, what a mine of wealth is here in store for us! Upon this point I need not enlarge—it is sufficiently obvious to all.

#### FISHERIES

From the products of the forest I briefly pass on to the products of the ocean. I say nothing of the extent or value of our fisheries in the great lakes and rivers of the north. But who can estimate the value, or the importance of our ocean fisheries? Should our Yankee neighbors be insane enough to decline a renewal of the reciprocity treaty, but a few years' experience in the trade of these two articles (wood and fish) alone will convince them of their folly. If a man was so ardent a lover of his own country as to desire its prosperity and greatness to be raised

upon the ruin and downfall of his neighbors, he could desire nothing better to promote that end than the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. On our part, a temporary inconvenience, and probably some pecuniary loss, would be felt by a few. The inconvenience, however, would be but temporary, and the loss small, while on the other hand, the gain would be extensive and permanent.

#### CANALS AND RAILROADS.

Nor is it only in agriculture and population, in territory and manufactures, in mineral deposits, and in the productions of the forest, the field, or the ocean that we can favorably compare with our neighbors. If we turn our attention for a moment to the great outlets and inlets of a country, what may justly be termed the veins and arteries of a nation, those through which the life-blood of industry flows, and which supply health and vigor, and give life and impulse to all branches of trade. I allude to our canals and railroads. In these have we lacked energy, or lagged behind our neighbors in the race? Let the cost, the extent, and the importance of the works on the St. Lawrence, the Welland, the Rideau, the Richelieu, the Ottawa, the Trent, and other Canadian waters answer. Let our iron steeds galloping from River-du-Loup to Sarnia; from Hamilton to Windsor; from Montreal to Portland; from Toronto to Collingwood; from Buffalo to Goderich; from Brockville to Almonte; from Prescott to Ottawa; from Port Hope to Lindsay; from St. Mary's to Sarnia; from London to St. Thomas; from Cobourg to Peterborough; from Galt to Guelph; from Arthabaska to Three Rivers; from Montreal to Chateauguay; from Truro to Halifax; from Halifax to Windsor; from Shediac to St. John's; from Woodstock to St. Andrews; answer. Surely if these evidences of our enterprise in canalizing and railroading will not answer for us, then no language I can utter will answer. In fact, instead of lagging behind our ever-boasting, never-tiring, "go-a-head" neighbors, we have probably gone too far in heading the "go-a-heads!" Or in other words, though commencing later, with less men, less money, and less settled territory, we have fairly outstripped them in the race.

#### FINE ARTS.

Now a few words regarding the fine arts. Have we neglected their cultivation? Let any one visit their chief seats, at Montreal, at Toronto, at Quebec, at London, at Ottawa, at Kingston or at Hamilton, and he can readily answer. Or, if these cities are too distant, let him only visit one of our annual Provincial Fairs, and he can readily satisfy his curiosity in this behalf.

#### EDUCATION.

There is perhaps one other particular, which I may be permitted here to allude to. It is one which I could scarcely excuse myself if I passed without a reference, however slight; because it is one, more than any other, upon which not only the future pro-

gress and prosperity of this country must rest, but one moreover which must ensure its greatness, its freedom and its glory to ourselves and to posterity. I allude to the education of the people. What new country, say, or even old one, has made the same rapid strides in the education of its people that we have done? To say nothing of our private academies of learning, our mechanics' institutes, our gymnasia, only look at our common schools, our model schools, our grammar schools, our normal schools, our colleges, our universities, and then name to me, if you can, the country in which education is more thorough, or more thoroughly diffused? And here I may be permitted to pay a passing tribute to the exertions of our chief superintendent of education, Dr. Ryerson. In some things I have differed from him, but "taking him for all in all," I am free to give it as the honest conviction of my judgment that his being placed at the head of our educational department has been a blessing to Canada. We have been visited by educationists from all parts of the United States, north and south. We have also had learned professors from the best European schools—all have freely admitted the excellence of our system—none have condemned it—many have borrowed from it. Perhaps I may be told, that little of it is original—that it is but the borrowed brains of other masters, dressed up in Canadian costume. Granted! What then? Is it the less valuable on that account? Is it because it has been tested by experience, and proved to be good, that it is not to be valued! Nay, let us rather estimate it the more highly, because "it has been tried and not found wanting." If borrowed it is, no other country possesses a system equal to it. It is the best portions of other systems, copied from other countries, carefully culled and epitomised by a master mind, and skillfully bound up in one uniform link, from the lowest class primary school, to the highest class University. The very fact of the numbers of youth, sent from the neighboring States, both North and South, to receive their education in our colonial seminaries, is the best possible proof of the estimation in which our educational establishments are held. While the education of the people thus continues, we may, by the Divine permission, expect our country to progress, and our people to continue prosperous, free and happy—fully appreciating the value of the liberties they enjoy, and able and willing, loyally to defend them against all assaults, whether plotted by domestic traitor, or aimed by foreign foe.

#### COMPARATIVE DEBT.

I had intended, did time permit, to have said a few words, in illustration of the comparative state of the debt of this country and of the "United States." But I find I must defer this till some future occasion. All I shall do at present is, to make a passing allusion to the national debt of the "United States;" saying nothing of its State debts, its

municipal debts; or its other obligations. Mr. Stevens, who is a leading member of the House of Representatives; a supporter of the Republican party at present in power; and having therefore, no interest, or feeling, to augment its amount, thus states it:

"War debt, (when funded and pensions capitalized,) over four billions of dollars. The interest, at six per cent only, two hundred and forty millions of dollars. Ordinary expenses of the government, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars. Extraordinary expenses of the army and navy, one hundred and ten millions of dollars. Total amount to be annually raised by taxation, four hundred and seventy millions." The same authority says, (*vide* his speech at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, September, 1865,) "Our present heavy taxes will, in ordinary years, produce but little more than half of four hundred and seventy millions. Can our people bear double their present taxation? He who unnecessarily causes it, will be accursed from generation to generation. We pity the poor Englishman, whose national debt and burdensome taxation, we have heard deplored from our childhood. The debt of Great Britain is just about as much as ours (four billions.) But in effect, it is but half as large, as it bears but three per cent interest. The current year (1865,) the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells us, the interest was \$131,806,990. Ours, when all shall be funded, will be nearly double." Such are Mr. Stevens' own words. And upon them I will only make this remark, that some persons marry for wealth, others for love, some for beauty, and some for wit; but I have yet to learn the name of the man, or the nation, that embraced a bride, merely on account of her poverty, her extravagance and her debt!

#### COMPARATIVE GROWTH IN NUMBERS.

If the last official census, and the decade next preceding it, be taken into account, it will be seen that this Western Province has maintained a ratio of increase, as nearly as possible, one-half greater than the United States. By the census taken in June, 1850, the whole population of the United States was 23,191,876, and by the census of June, 1860, 31,445,080, being a fraction over 35 per cent increase in ten years. By the census taken in January, 1852, the population of Upper Canada was 952,004, and by the census of January, 1861, 1,296,091, being a fraction over 46 per cent increase in nine years. In Lower Canada, the census gives the population in 1852, at 890,261, and in 1861 at 1,110,664, being a fraction over 24 per cent increase in nine years. Taking both sections of Canada together, and adding up the number of each, at the same ratio of increase as they maintained for the preceding nine years, the tenth year would give the population as 2,595,111, being a fraction over 40 per cent increase in the ten years. Thus proving clearly, an increase of 5 per cent over the United States in the same period. Here then is the true tale, which

the official statistics of both countries tell; which it might not be amiss for Sir Morton Peto and his "railroad capitalists" to carry home with them; and which our "Annexation" friends in this country would do well to consider, and to answer, if they can.

#### TRUTH CONCEALED BY THE ANNEXATIONISTS.

When speaking and writing upon the subject of "Annexation," why have not the advocates of that measure, the common honesty to state, at the very least, one or two of the leading pecuniary facts connected with it? For instance, why do they not state fairly and openly, that "annexation" would rob Canada of the whole amount, now annually collected from our customs, our post office, and all other sources of general revenue; which would be taken to support the Federal government at Washington? Why do they not state that new taxes should be imposed to support the different States' Governments, into which the British American Provinces would be divided? Why do they not state that the present debt of Canada, is just about \$30 a head upon the population, while that of the United States is over \$100 a head? Why do they not state, that in consequence of the high rates, and the oppressive system of revenue taxation in the United States, their own people are found constantly engaged in violating their own laws, and smuggling from us? Why do they not state, that at this very moment, woollen fabrics, and many other articles, are manufactured here, and sold in their markets, notwithstanding the high tariff, imposed to protect their domestic manufactures? Why do they not state that a capitalist cannot invest his money in the United States, without having the fruit of his investment most heavily and vexatiously taxed, while in Canada, there is a perfect freedom for investments? If they would only learn to speak the truth, and to tell a few plain facts like these, they need never again open their lips upon the subject of "Annexation." In fact, my young friends, if they would only state honestly and fairly; but a very few of the articles taxed in the "free and enlightened" Republic, to which they would "annex" us, if they could; they would have little occasion to name "annexation" to the people of Canada, during the remainder of their natural lives. Only allow me for a moment to name a few, and they shall be very few, of those articles. Incomes varying from \$600 to \$5,000 a year, have to pay a tax of 5 per cent. If over \$5,000, 10 per cent; and if derived from dividends, 15 per cent. From 3 to 5 per cent, has to be paid on all sales. No man can be permitted to labor, whether with his own hands, or his own head, or his own tongue, without paying for such permission; as may be seen by the taxes upon all professional men's licenses; and upon all retail dealers and tradesmen. Nor is it only the liberty to labor that is taxed, but the fruits of labor also; for there is a heavy excise duty on every description of manufac-

tures—even the boots on their feet, and the clothes on their back, are alike subject to the impost. The "time of day," and the "light of day," are taxed. From \$1 to \$2 is the tax for liberty to carry a watch; and 6 per cent for liberty to use a clock. Gas, benzine, benzole, coal oil, and all descriptions of light, are taxed. If they wish to shut out the summer's sun, or the winter's frost, from their fingers, they have to pay a tax of 6 per cent upon the gloves that cover them. If they wish to read a book, from the Sacred Word down to a trashy novel, they have to pay a tax of 5 per cent. Or if they only take a ride in a rail car, yea, even in a 'bus, from an hotel to a friend's house, to a railroad station, or a steam boat wharf, the tax gatherer is at their heels! The very sugar that sweetens their tea, is taxed in addition to the old import duty, from 3 to 4 cents on the lb. The lovers of "Old Bye" are taxed \$2 on the gallon! And as if it were not enough to tax the "time of day" and the "light of the day," they levy a tax also upon the very medicine, which the Doctor may prescribe for the restoration of health, even the very bottles in which the medicine is conveyed to the lips of the patient, are taxed from 1 to 4 cents each. If they wish to slaughter their own cow, or their own sheep, or their own hog, or their own ox, they are taxed 40 cents upon each animal, to be allowed to do so! And if any one of them desires to place a coffin on his father, or his mother, his brother, or his sister; his wife, or his child, or if he desires to plant a tombstone, to mark the spot where his deceased friend or relative rests, he has to pay a tax of 6 per cent for the privilege! If I only went through a twentieth part of the list, you would be frightened, and probably some one of you, more incredulous than the rest, might jump from his seat, and ask if it was possible, that any people, except slaves, would live under such an oppressive system? But I must add, that in addition to all, the famous Morrill tariff, imposes a tax of about 50 per cent on all imported goods. If such are the "benefits and blessings" which "annexation" would entail upon us, I am of opinion Canadians will long remain without a wish or a thought, to be "annexed" to them, or to have them "annexed" to us.

#### NO SURRENDER.

Many people are absolutely frightened into "annexation," by the dread of being overrun by the great armies of the United States. Not only timid hearts, but even many, from whom better things might have been expected, have stood apparently appalled, before the myriad hosts, lately arrayed in hostile attitude across the border. For my own part, I never felt, and I do not at present feel, the least insecurity, as the millions of armed men by whom we have been threatened. Let us be but true to ourselves, and we may safely cry out, as our fathers did in 1837, "No surrender;" and as we ourselves did in 1837 and '8, "Let them come, if they dare!" Upon this subject, I may be permitted to say a few words, before I close.

At the commencement of the war of 1812, the population of Upper and Lower Canada together, amounted to scarcely three hundred thousand souls; while that of the United States, was over eight millions; just within a mere fraction of twentyseven to one. Now our population is two millions five hundred thousand, while that of the United States, (North and South together,) is about thirty millions; making a proportion of only twelve, instead of twenty seven, to one. Then the United States were a wealthy, vigorous and united people; now they are exhausted by four years of the most stupendous war, and torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and sectional hatreds and malignity, which only pant for a favorable opportunity to burst forth into open violence. In 1812-14, Great Britain was exhausted by one of the longest and greatest struggles on record, when not only her armies were employed abroad, but her militia, her yeomanry corps, her volunteers, and her navy also, were employed, to guard her own shores from invasion, and to preserve her own national existence—one or two skeleton battalions only, (chiefly Germans,) could be spared to aid in the defence of this province. Now the armies, navies and resources of the British Empire, have been recuperating and strengthening by half a century of peace. The British possessions in North America, now number three millions three hundred thousand souls; out of which, according to the usual statistics, one fifth would be male adults, and would consequently give six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred fighting men. Take off the one hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred for aged men, to cultivate the earth, and attend to other domestic matters, and half a million of fighting men would still be left to take the field. The largest number of men the Americans were able to bring into the field at any one time, was at Antietam, and amounted to eighty-three thousand. So that in any fair fought pitched battle, we should not be far behind our boastful neighbors, even without counting upon the presence of an English soldier.

Americans are good soldiers to defend their own soil against invasion, but the great bulk of the sober-minded and reflecting population, (particularly the agricultural and mechanical classes,) are opposed to aggressive wars. They will fight nobly to defend their own country and their institutions, but they must be coerced to leave their country, to attack another people. In the late war with the South, more than half the American armies were made up of English, Irish, Scotch, German, and Canadian soldiers. These men, if marched across our borders, would not fight against us, but would chiefly desert to our standard, when they found themselves on Canadian soil.

#### THE FENIANS.

The "Fenian" organization is dreaded by many. In a war with the United States, it would, if they took an active or prominent part in it, become a source of weakness to

the enemy. Prior to the breaking out of the great rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, the Presbyterians were the disaffected, and the "United Irishmen" were chiefly of that denomination. But so soon as the flame of insurrection burst forth, and the Irish Roman Catholics took an active part, the Presbyterians dropped off, and the rebellion was speedily extinguished. The same cause would produce a similar result in America. Let the Irish "Fenians" once come out, and the Protestant bodies of America, would immediately desert the standard.

#### THE WAR WITH THE SOUTH.

Let us suppose the whole population of the United States, (North and South united,) to be loyal to the Union, and willing to wage an aggressive war. In such an event, they would enter upon it, with twenty millions in the free States, and ten millions in the slave States; making, as I before stated, a total of thirty millions. In the late war with the South, the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, in all fifteen, revolted, or at least were disaffected, and were generally designated as the "Rebel States." Five of them, namely: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee being "border" States, were at once overrun by the Northern element, and were prevented from openly and officially seceding. The other ten, however, passed secession ordinances by their State conventions and legislatures. Thus one-third of the slave States were prevented from joining their Southern brethren, and cast per force into the Northern net. This change of one-third diminished the Southern strength from ten millions to six millions, six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred, and increased the Northern force from twenty millions to twenty-three millions, three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred. In addition to this the negro population, exceeding one million, would not be armed by the South, but were at once taken into the Northern armies. This at once reduced the Southern strength in round numbers to five millions and raised the Northern to over twenty-four millions, leaving the relative numbers as about five to twenty-five.

#### A WAR WITH US.

In addition to this disparity in numbers it should also be taken into account that the American armies were fighting on their own territory—to defend their own institutions—in a word to maintain their own national existence. In a war with us all this would be reversed. Instead of fighting on their own territory they would require to bring all their armies, munitions and supplies across the St. Lawrence or the great lakes into our country, to fight on a foreign soil; and if once defeated they could not retreat with safety as in Virginia or Missouri, or in Kentucky or Tennessee, where the railroads and navigable streams being in their



possession, afforded them every facility for retreat and escape; or as in the Carolinas, or Georgia, or as in Florida or Mississippi, or Louisiana, or Texas; where an extended seaboard, wholly under their own control, gave them every facility for aggressive movements on the one hand, and for retrograde ones on the other. Again, instead of fighting to defend their own institutions, they would be assailing ours. Most men, even common cowards, love the laws, institutions and customs under which they were born, which they have been taught to revere from their youth up, and which they have esteemed as their own. But few men, and certainly none but the reckless and desperate, will leave their peaceful homes and firesides, to force their institutions upon other nations; to wage an aggressive and unpopular war upon an unoffending people; and to deprive that people, of a national and independent existence, which they value dearer than property, and precious as life itself. In a war with us, the Americans would find themselves blockaded, at every outlet and at every inlet, on the Atlantic to the east; on the Gulf of Mexico to the south; up the Mississippi to the west; and on the borders of the loyal States to the north. Their New York; and their Boston; their New Orleans and their Portlands; aye, even the very seat and citadel of their power, Washington itself, would be, as it was before, under the mercy of British guns, and compelled again to fuel the Star Spangled Banner before the Red Cross of St. George. With all these changes in circumstances, and with all these advantages on our side, may I not well ask you to consider, that if it took the Northern armies and navies over four years to conquer less territory than ours, and to subdue a less (white) hostile population, how long would it take them to march into and invade a foreign country, of far greater extent, inhabited by a far harder, a far more united, and a far more hostile population, arrayed against them?

UNION, BUT NOT CONFEDERATION.

I cannot conclude the remarks which I have felt it my duty to address to you, without referring to one other subject—one with which the public mind has been for some time agitated, and which may justly be termed the all-engrossing subject of the hour. I allude to the question of Confederation. Upon this point I have been told, many of you desire to know my opinions; and being so told, I cannot withhold them. I am in favor of union, but not of confederation. I give the gentlemen, under whose auspices the Quebec scheme was sent forth to the world, due credit for wisdom and ability in its preparation, and for loyalty to the crown, and patriotism to the country in intention. But with all their ability and wisdom, and loyalty and patriotism, they have failed to convince me of the propriety of the scheme propounded. Had it been a Legislative instead of a Federative union, I would at once have gone with them. Indeed I am not disin-

clined to believe from a thoughtful consideration of the whole plan proposed, that the master mind or minds, by whom, or by which it was prepared, was of opinion that a consolidated union would have been preferable, had it been practicable, and that necessarily, not choice, secured acquiescence. An experienced and comprehensive mind, like that by which the present Attorney General West, (the Hon. Mr. Macdonald) is distinguished, might, for example, entertain such ideas, and with the elasticity and determination, which great minds only can exercise in moments of difficulty, yield to the necessity of the case. I am led to this view of the question from the great burthens that must necessarily press upon the people under the scheme, if carried out as proposed; and also from the weak and ineoperative powers, intended to be conferred upon the local legislatures. These two facts lead me to the conclusion that the people will, after a very few years' experience, cry out so lustily against the increased burthens of taxation, and against the increased legislative restrictions imposed, that a change will have to be made, and a legislative union be the result. Whether this was anticipated, and of course intended by the promoters, I know not. But whether intended or not, I have no doubt it will be the result of the scheme, if adopted. To union in the abstract no one will object. Nations and separate provinces are composed of individuals, and like individuals, are mutually dependent upon each other. No man can live without association of some kind with his fellow man; and so, no nation or province can continue without intercourse with other nations or provinces. The history of all mankind, from the creation of Adam to this day, establishes this fact. But I have but a few moments left to glance at the attempts which have been made to unite separate States and nations under the confederate form. I will begin with the Greek States, as they were one of the most ancient. They were first united by Theseus in a federative union. The United States government may be said to be a transcript of it. The Greeks flourished for a considerable period and became one of the most powerful and most learned of ancient nations. But its Attica districts—its Athens—its Thermopyles—its cities and islands—with their separate State municipalities and rival interests, split the Greeks into factions, fomented jealousies, and ultimately lost to the people their freedom, their independence, and their national character. At this day it may be said, that Greece only remains that its history may be a warning to posterity. Rome is but another example of the instability of confederate republics; and though the several States afterwards merged into one of the greatest empires upon earth in course of years, like Greece, it fell from its high estate. The once great and commanding States of Rome, are now only to be found in history, as a further warning against the jealousies and ruin that ultimately follow in the

wake of all confederate governments. The Seven United Provinces that composed the Dutch republic, made noble sacrifices for their independence. But they too, had to submit to the tyranny of a Philip, and the barbarity of an Alva. Like Greece and Rome they fell too; and it was left to modern intelligence, added to the wisdom of experience, to explode the folly of Confederate States, and to unite all in one Parliament and under one head. The Cantons of Switzerland, are Confederate States, 'tis true, and the only ones remaining in all Europe. But what are they but petty factions, constantly warring with one another, as the histories of Bale, Bern, Geneva, and the other Cantons abundantly prove? And even if faction had never divided them, one or two facts alone are sufficient to prove the fallacy of any reliance that might be built upon this Confederacy. These facts are, that the very name of Swis is a byword and a reproach in all European nations—that the Swis are in the market of blood, as mere hirelings in the service of foreign tyrants—that as a separate nation they are only permitted to exist upon sufferance, and are often kept apart from open violence, by the dread of being wholly absorbed by their more powerful neighbors. The Germanic Confederation can scarcely be invoked as an example; because it is a Confederacy rather of Monarchs and petty Princes, than of distinct States and Provinces. But even should that point be conceded, what would remain to cause any sane man to set up the German Confederacy as an example for imitation? What are its annals but one continued scene of petty princely contention—abortive in every good measure—prone to every evil one. I need not refer to former examples, for illustrations of the truth of what I speak. The history of the Schleswig-Holstein affair; setting aside the protocol title of the King of Denmark, and the legitimate title of the Duke of Augustenberg to the Duchies, and their final absorption by the two great bullies of the Confederation (Prussia and Austria) are in themselves sufficient to prove the utter impotency of the Confederacy, when its wishes are placed in collision with the ambition of others. The United States of North America is the last, and the great example of Confederate States. Its history of slavery and aggression for the last fifty years, and of war and blood, and of every species of horror and destruction for the last

five, must answer for the success that has crowned its course. To the North American, the South American States might be added; and with equal warnings against Republican Confederates. No five years have elapsed since the first day they separated from the parent State, that some two or more of them have not been at war with each other; while the revolutions and rebellions have been almost without number. What lessons for our instruction! What warnings for our guidance! The history of the British Isles will best bespeak the wisdom that has guided their destiny. When the Kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united by Egbert, in the year 827, and the foundation of British constitutional government laid by the Great Alfred, it was not laid in Confederate States, but in one consolidated government; and that government has stood through all ages, and stands at this day; not as a warning for nations to shun, but as a beacon light of stability, freedom, and glory to follow. The Principality of Wales was subsequently added, but not as a Confederate State. Henry the Eighth incorporated the Welsh into the English Constitution, as a part and parcel of one consolidated nation. The Palatines of Chester and Durham were subsequently engrafted into the same solid stock; the former by Henry the Eighth, and the latter by Charles the Second. The ancient Kingdom of Scotland was added by Queen Anne, in 1707; and Ireland in 1800, by George the Third. Does any sane man believe, that if the several originally distinct States, that now comprise the British nation, had been united upon the Confederate system, the empire would not have gone to pieces years, if not centuries ago? The consolidated legislative system alone has secured its honor, its glory and its perpetuity. If they give us a legislative union, with representation in the Imperial Parliament, and thus constitute Britain and her colonies as one great Marine Empire, then indeed will all "good men and true" rejoice—then indeed will the expense and entanglements of separate Confederate States be avoided; the several parts of the Empire properly represented and knit together; the interest of each secured; justice be administered throughout; and the freedom, glory and independence of the whole be perpetuated to the latest period of time. Let us all struggle to this end, and we shall be doing good service to ourselves, and to posterity.

has  
an,  
ed ;  
can  
sed  
the  
em  
ille  
een  
for  
our  
les  
ed  
he  
ear  
tu-  
ed,  
in  
iv-  
nd  
or  
of  
he  
d-  
ry  
he  
of  
of  
n-  
er  
oy  
m  
in  
e  
if  
at  
on  
ae  
s,  
d  
r,  
is  
n  
te  
ae  
d  
se  
te  
ae  
o-  
ce  
n,  
ee  
et  
ae  
g-